

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 SS-14 NSC-10 L-03 H-02 IO-12 SSC-01 T-03

OMB-01 EB-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-09 NSAE-00 PA-03

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O R 151730 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4498

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BELFAST

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E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PINT, EI

SUBJ: COSGRAVE APPOINTS BALANCED CABINET

BEGIN SUMMARY: PM COSGRAVE HAS APPOINTED A CABINET WHICH IS CAREFULLY BALANCED BETWEEN LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES AND WHICH SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO HIS PERSONAL AUTHORITY. IT IS ALSO A TALENTED GROUP, THOUGH SOME OF ITS MEMBERS WERE PURPOSELY ASSIGNED TO TASKS OUTSIDE THEIR AREAS OF PERSONAL SKILL. GREATEST SURPRISE IS ASSIGNMENT OF GARRETT FITZGERALD, A BRILLIANT ECONOMIST, TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS RATHER THAN FINANCE.  
END SUMMARY.

1. LIAM COSGRAVE WAS FORMALLY ELECTED TAOISEACH ( PM) MARCH 14 BY DAIL VOTE OF 72 TO 70. NARROW MARGIN OF VICTORY EXPLAINED BY THREE FACTORS WHICH COULD COMPLICATE NEW GOVERNMENTS PROBLEMS:

A) OUTGOING FIANNA FAIL REFUSED RENOMINATE CORMAC BRESLIN AS DAIL CHAIRMAN ( SPEAKER), DESPITE UNWRITTEN RULE THAT CHAIRMAN CONTINUES IN OFFICE REGARDLESS OF PARTY  
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CONSIDERATIONS. ( HE IS AUTOMATICALLY RE- ELECTED WITHOUT HAVING TO CONTEST SEAT IN HIS CONSTITUENCY). FAC THAT FIANNA FAIL WANTED BRESLIN' S VOTE-- WHICH, AS CHAIRMAN, HE COULD ONLY HAVE CAST IN A TIE-- INDICATES THEY WILL BE RUTHLESS IN ATTEMPTS TO VOTE NEW GOVT OUT OF OFFICE.

B) INDEPENDENT JOE SHERIDAN ABSTAINED RATHER THAN SUPPORTING COSGRAVE. HE MAY WELL SUPPORT GOVT ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, HOWEVER.

C) INDPENDENT NAIL BLANEY VOTED AGAINST COSGRAVE RATHER THAN ABSTAINING, BUT HE ALSO VOTED AGAINST LYNCH, WHO WAS DEFEATED FOR TAOISEACH 73-69 IN PRECEDING VOTE. OBVIOUSLY, NEITHER SIDE CAN COUNT ON BLANEY.

3. NEW GOVT' S MEMBERS ARE NOT, HOWEVER, CONCERNED BY TWO- VOTE MARGIN, WHICH THEY BELIEVE WILL BE LARGER ON MOST ISSUES. THEY EXPECT PROVIDE STABLE GOVT FOR FULL TERM. JUDGING FROM HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS, THEY HAVE A REASONABLE CHANCE, BUT WILL FACE HARD CHALLENGES.

3. COSGRAVE NOMINATED FOLLOWING AS MEMBERS OF NEW GOVT. LAST POST, THAT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL, IS NOT TECHNICALLY PART OF GOVT, BUT COSTELLO WILL APPARENTLY BE CONSIDERED CABINET MEMBER FOR MOST PRACTICAL PURPOSES.

A) TAOISEACH, LIAM COSGRAVE ( FINE GAEIL)  
B) TANAISTE ( DEPUTY PM) AND MINISTER FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE, BRENDAN CORISH ( LABOR)  
C) FINANCE, RICHIE RYAN ( FINE GAEIL)  
D) FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GARRET FITZGERALD ( FINE GAEIL)  
E) AGRICULTURE, MARK CLINTON ( FINE GAEIL)  
F) INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, JUSTIN KEATING ( LABOR)  
G) TRANSPORT AND POWER, PETER BARRY ( FINE GAEIL)  
H) LOCAL GOVT, JAMES TULLY ( LABOR)  
I) DEFENSE, PATRICK DONEGAN ( FINE GAEIL)  
J) LABOR, MICHAEL O' LEARY ( LABOR)  
K) POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS, CONOR CRUISE O' BRIEN ( LABOR)  
L) LANDS, TOM FITZPATRICK ( FINE GAEIL)  
M) GAELTACHT, TOM O' DONNELL ( FINE GAEIL)  
N) EDUCATION, RICHARD BURKE ( FINE GAEIL)  
O) JUSTICE, PATRICK COONEY ( FINE GAEIL)  
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P) ATTORNEY GENERAL, DECLAN COSTELLO ( FINE GAEIL)

4. ALL OF MEN NOMINATED WERE CLEARLY IN LINE FOR CABINET. IN SEVERAL CASES, HOWEVER, COSGRAVE WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO AVOID GIVING HIS TEAM MINISTRIES THEY EXPECTED RECEIVE AND FOR WHICH THEY WERE MOST QUALIFIED. UNDER IRISH SYSTEM, THIS IS SURPRISING RATHER THAN SHOCKING. THERE IS A TRADITION OF APPOINTING AMATEUR MINISTERS, AND THERE ARE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES IN DOING SO FOR NEW TAOISEACH. NEVERTHELESS, EVEN PARTY INSIDERS WERE AMAZED, ESPECIALLY BY SWITCH BETWEEN GARRET FITZGERALD AND RICHIE RYAN IN TWO SENIOR MINISTRIES. FITZGERALD IS BRILLIANT ECONOMIST, MORE HIGHLY QUALIFIED FOR FINANCE MINISTRY THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE PERSON IN COUNTRY. HE WAS ARCHITECT OF GOVERNING COALITION'S SUCCESSFUL ELECTORAL PROGRAM. HE SHOULD ALSO BE EXCELLENT FOREIGN MINISTER. RICHIE RYAN'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR FINANCE ARE NOT SO CLEAR, APART FROM SOME UNIVERSITY STUDY IN ECONOMICS. WE SURMISE THAT COSGRAVE WANTED FINANCE MINISTER WHO WAS PERSONALLY LOYAL AND RELATIVELY CONSERVATIVE, NOT A POTENTIAL PRIMA DONNA. IN PAST YEARS, FITZGERALD HAS OFTEN BEEN VISIBLY IMPATIENT WITH COSGRAVE AND HAS WORKED ENTHUSIASTICALLY FOR LIBERAL ECONOMIC/ SOCIAL REFORMS. HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN HARD TO

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CONTROL IN FINANCE, ESPECIALLY SINCE OTHERS IN CABINET WOULD NOT KNOW ENOUGH TO ARGUE WITH HIM ON SUBSTANTIVE ECONOMIC POINTS. HE WILL ALSO HAVE IMPORT JOB IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO EEC WHERE ECONOMIC SOPHISTICATION WILL BE ESSENTIAL, AND HE IS BELIEVED TO BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO NI PROTESTANT THAN RICHIE RYAN. ON NI AFFAIRS, DEVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN COSGRAVE AND FITZGERALD WILL BE INTERESTING. FINE GAEL SOURCE BELIEVES COSGRAVE WILL FOLLOW TRADITION OF KEEPING PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR NORTHERN QUESTION, BUT THAT FITZGERALD MAY HAVE MORE FREEDOM OF ACTION IN THIS AREA THAN HILLERY OR LENIHAN.

5. OTHER MINISTRIES ARE LESS IMPORTANT FOR U. S. INTERESTS AND, WITH EXCEPTION OF AGRICULTURE, LESS PRESTIGIOUS HERE. THROUGHOUT CABINET, COSGRAVE FOLLOWED PATTERN OF PUTTING UNSURPRISING MEN IN SURPRISING POSITIONS. AS EXAMPLE, PATRICK DONEGAN AND MARK CLINTON WERE EACH GIVEN MINISTRY OTHER EXPECTED TO GET. TOM O' DONNELL HAS BEEN DOWNGARDED TO MINISTER FOR GAELTACHT, WHILE PETER BARRY OF CORK HAS MORE IMPORTANT TRANSPORT AND POWER POST WHICH HAS JURISDICTION OVER CIVIL AVIATION. WE KNOW BARRY AND EXPECT BE ABLE TO WORK WITH HIM CONSTRUCTIVELY. CONOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CRUISE O' BRIEN' S MINISTRY IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN IT LOOKS, SINCE HE WILL HAVE CHARGE OF TV AND RADIO. NEW JUSTICE MINISTER AND ATTORNEY GENERAL ARE LIBERAL, STRONGLY ANTI- IRA, BUT DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT CIVIL LIBERTIES. THEY SHOULD BE IN POSITION HANDLE IRA PROBLEM EVEN MORE SUCCESSFULLY THAN PREVIOUS GOVT, WHOSE RECORD WAS ALREADY GOOD. LABOR PARTY HAS MINISTRY FOR LABOR AND MINISTRY FOR INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, MEANING THAT LABOR WILL HAVE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY WAGE/ PRICE CONTROLS OR AGREEMENTS-- A CLEVER MOVE. BURKE SHOULD BE GOOD EDUCATION MINISTER.

6. IN SUM, NEW CABINET SHOULD BE GENERALLY MORE COMPETENT THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, DESPITE APPARENT WASTAGE OF TALENT INVOLVED IN COSGRAVE' S JUGGLING. COSGRAVE HAD IMPRESSIVE TALENT AT HIS DISPOSAL AND MUST HAVE ATTACHED MORE PRIORITY TO LIBERAL/ CONSERVATIVE BALANCE, RESPONSIVENESS TO HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP, AND ABILITY TO WORK AS A TEAM. STRONG INDIVIDUALISTS ARE NEUTRALIZED.

7. NEW DAIL CHAIRMAN IS SEAN TREACY OF LABOR, WHO SHOULD BE EFFECTIVE IN A POSITION WHICH HAS MORE

PRESTIGE THAN POWER. HIS APPOINTMENT ALSO NEUTRALIZES  
A DEPUTY OF STRONG REPUBLICAN LEANINGS, THOUGH HE IS  
PROBABLY TOO REASONABLE TO HAVE MADE MUCH TROUBLE FOR  
COSGRAVE.

8. THERE ARE A FEW PROBLEM AREAS. COSGRAVE HAS  
APPOINTED NO MINISTERS FOR WAR WEST, WHICH WILL  
CAUSE COMMENT IN AREA THAT MOVED TOWARD COALITION IN  
LAST ELECTIONS. GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCE MAY BE PARTIALLY  
RECTIFIED BY NAMING MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO AND

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES. LABOR DEPUTY DAVID THORNLEY  
MAY BE OBSTACULAR, ESPECIALLY ON REPUBLICAN ISSUES,  
BUT PM LYNCH HAD TO DEAL WITH FAR MORE REPUBLICANS.  
LABOR DEPUTY JOHN O'CONNELL, WHO IS LEADING VOTE-  
GATHERER AND A BUNDLE OF ENERGY, MAY BE DIFFICULT TO  
RESTRAIN ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES.

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9. WITH NEW GOVT ANNOUNCED, DAIL RECESSED TILL MARCH 28.  
MOORE

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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